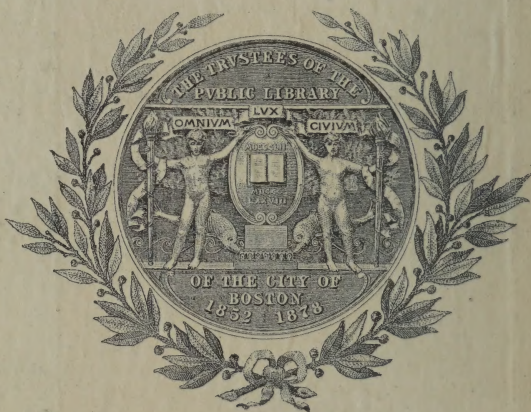
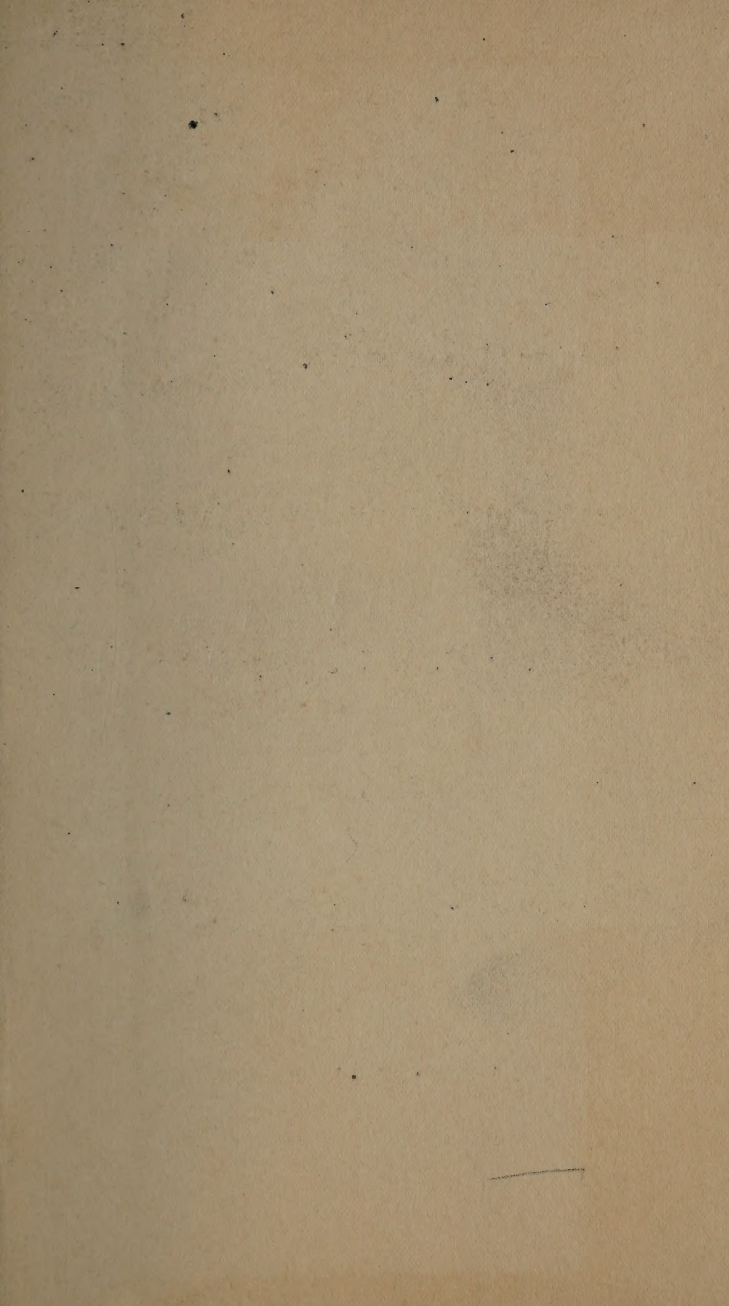


No 4265.513







17852

ENGLAND OPPOSED TO SLAVERY.

4265.513



6
ENGLAND OPPOSED TO SLAVERY,

OR

SOME REMARKS

17852
UPON

4265.513

"AN EXAMINATION INTO THE REAL CAUSES OF THE WAR
AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, AND AN APPEAL TO
THE OTHER POWERS OF EUROPE AGAINST
THE PURPOSES OF ENGLAND."

BOSTON:

BENJAMIN H. GREENE.

1842.

CAMBRIDGE PRESS:

LYMAN THURSTON AND WILLIAM TORRY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL.

1892

THE "Examination," upon which I am to make some remarks, appeared in the "Boston Morning Post" of April 19, 1842, and occupied a large portion of that day's paper. Its unimportance, perhaps, obtained for it a silent attention, and I have been induced to notice it at this late day, from a conviction which I then had, and still have, that it contains the views and feelings of too large a portion of our people. It breathes forth a spirit, which is scorching and withering to every sense of humanity, and beneath which no sympathy for injured man can grow. Thinking, as I do, that every man is bound to raise his voice, however feeble it may be, against Slavery, against its defenders, against such communications as the Post has seen fit to offer us, I venture to address my Fellow-citizens, begging them to judge for themselves what is right.

Boston, July 1, 1842.

From 572.66
17852
May 29. 1869

ENGLAND OPPOSED TO SLAVERY.

17852

THAT a relic of ancient barbarism should be the cause of the greatest civil commotion of modern times, is a fact as humiliating to those who look for the dawning of Christianity, and the perfecting of the rights of men, as it is terribly degrading to those rights, and subversive of the principles of that religion. We have in slavery the connecting link, which binds us in our follies to the delusions of all those early nations, whose histories and monuments show us, that they held their fellow-men in bondage, and made them absolute transferable property. The Jews, the Egyptians, the Greeks, Achilles' wrath, the markets of Babylon and Tyre, the luxury of the Romans, the traffic of the pirates and kidnappers of all the Mediterranean, have lent their aid in this wicked work ; and still later, England, Germany, France, Sicily, Venice, each converted its neighboring seas into highways, upon which it might transport its brethren, whom the chances of war had cursed with bondage. Even the garment of Christianity, which clothed the early settlers of this country, appeared to lose its sanctity before the question of slavery, and has now become, one would think,

a perfect Nessus-shirt upon our backs, burning our very vitals ; its light has revealed the enormity of the institution, while it seems to have, in the same proportion, refined its cruelties. The track of that ship, in which Sir John Hawkins brought the first cargo of slaves to Hispaniola, appears a dark, polluted line across the hitherto unsullied bosom of our western waters ; the unholy highway, which has been followed by so many fiends, and darkened by so many scenes of guilt ; the iron chain, which unites the slavery of our Christian country with the barbarous servitude of the early nations of the East. Would God the indignant waves had destroyed that ship !

Here then we are, — just as guilty, just as mercenary in this point, as were the heathen nations of olden times. And we have men among us, who are willing to transport the whole spirit of their lives so far back, as to become, on this question of slavery, no whit better than the pirates and despots of ancient Greece and Rome. 'Tis sad that it should be so ; but he who has eyes to see and ears to hear must know that it is. We hear the policy of every nation, the sentiments of every defender of man's inalienable rights, the efforts of all honest patriots and philanthropists, questioned by the suspicious disciples of the doctrines of slavery, as undermining their institutions, destroying their peace and property, exposing their lives, absolutely laying the axe at the root of their liberties. Is it not so ? The Quintuple Treaty, the question of the Creole, the heart-felt, honest indignation of the North, the word spoken in truth by every sincere man from

the dying cry of Lovejoy at Alton, to the manly voice of Channing at the other extreme of the Union,— have not all these been looked upon by slaveholders, as aiming at their destruction? Not a question comes before our legislators, that is not instantly turned over and over by the South, to see where it bears upon their great institution. So intimately is it interwoven with all their commerce, policy, laws, that it has become as it were the warp, upon which their whole existence is woven. That they defend it with all the pertinacity of most deluded men, is freely granted to them. They are consistent in their error, to say the least. No doubt, some among them are honest in their convictions,—and really look upon slavery as an evil, but a necessary evil, which has no remedy. That such as these should be jealous of any infringement upon their rights, is not a matter of astonishment. Hence it is, that we daily see men anxious to convince the world, that the blows avowedly aimed at slavery, are in fact wielded by selfishness, and love of power. Hence it is, that the whole United States come under the call to defend their institutions, against the grasping of England. Hence it is, that France is applauded for her vigilance and foresight, in refusing to unite in the Treaty of the Five Powers. Sympathy with slavery, either direct or indirect, either honest or dishonest; sympathy with it as an institution tending to preserve, in absolute existence and power, the southern portion of our country,—a blind sympathy, which sees not enormities mountain-high, and feels not how miserably a portion of our fellow-men exist in the land,

undoubtedly brings men to the beliefs and suspicions, I have mentioned. This sympathy, I doubt not, induced "a Kentuckian," to publish from Paris to the world, the paper I now have in consideration.

In these days of turmoil and confusion, when the multiplicity of questions before the community, and their intimate connexion, tend to confound men, when a restless spirit for war seems to fill the heads of too many in our land, when all the strength of the mighty is needed, to preserve our land in peace, and our institutions in purity, the appearance of a paper like this is a subject of deepest regret. It is cunningly devised, presenting an aspect of affairs so plausible, that at first sight one feels almost disposed to believe that men care nothing for the horrors of slavery, provided they can make its continuance or destruction a means of aggrandizing themselves. Its spirit is bad, radically defective; and, clothed as it is with innumerable fallacies, seems to call for a minute and careful investigation. Humanity cries out for help, when thus wronged and tortured. I call to my aid, in defending her, the words of Dr. Channing, when speaking of another document. He says, "I cannot but express my sorrow at the tone of inhumanity, which pervades it. * * The Document bears witness, not to individual hardness of heart, but to the callousness, the cruel insensibility, which has seized the community at large. Our contact with slavery has seared in a measure almost all our hearts. Were there a healthy tone of feeling among us, certain passages in this document would call forth a burst of displeasure." There is a

cold and heartless manner exhibited, when the condition of the slave is spoken of, which must make men of common sensibility shudder, — men, who have not learned to think on these things, with the apathy the very institution of slavery tends to generate. This has induced me to notice some of what I believe to be the false positions, and feel to be unsound and dangerous doctrines in this paper, believing them of course to be the honest convictions of the writer, as truly as my own, which stand apart from them heaven-wide, are of myself.

The right of search England would establish may evidently be carried to an extent, so harassing to our commerce and so dangerous in its results, that vigilance on the part of our own government, as well as of foreign nations, who have an interest in the preservation of pure and safe international law, is loudly called for. Those waters, within which the limits of the Treaty extend, are covered with fleets of American vessels, pursuing a legal and profitable traffic. That slavers are to be found also, can no longer be a matter of doubt. Their atrocities are too well known to need repetition. Every Englishman, every Frenchman, every American knows the sad story by heart. How then, under these circumstances, can it be said, as we find it in this document, that the purpose of England “is not the abolition of slavery, nor yet of the slave-trade, which are but means subordinate to it. It is to increase her manufactures, and extend her commerce, and, as indispensable to this, to substitute the raw products of India, for the products of Cuba,

Brazil, and the United States." Can any man be so full of credulity, as to believe England to be so presumptuous? Her folly, in thus interdicting the raw products of these specified countries, must be evident to every man, who will look at the state of exports through these channels. Restrictions upon colonial produce, or any interferences with colonial commerce, are the most delicate matters a nation has to deal with. The loss to home consumers, in those countries where colonists are made, per force, the chief providers, is immense; for they (home consumers) are the ones, who are to support the superfluous charges of raising the colonial produce, and also aid in making the fortunes of colonial planters and merchants, — without the smallest benefit to themselves. Thus a great tax is drawn from the people, to be poured into the pockets of the few. The rule works both ways, and colonies suffer equally, by being confined in their consumption to the articles of the mother country. Does not every man see, that the twenty millions of dollars drawn from India annually by England, and which is making her "*miserably poor*," will be drawn from broken cisterns yielding no water, unless the commercial relations of India are made independent of the restrictions of England. England herself must see this, and it is preposterous to talk of her laying plans to shut her markets against the raw products of the world, India excepted. That England, in her policy towards India, has made egregious blunders, is evident enough, as is shown us in the duties of "six shillings a gallon on rum, one pound one shilling

on shrub, ten shillings on cordials made in the East Indies," whereby "the East Indian could not compete with the West Indian," and Cuba and Brazil governed the market; and all this too, as a protection for British-made spirits, which would be driven from the market. That she should be slow in repealing the protecting duty on East India sugar, under these circumstances, flows as naturally from all this course of policy, as streams run down from mountain tops. Still she says this will be done, unless the slave trade is abolished, and the products of slave labor no longer furnished from Cuba, Brazil, and the United States, we will thus shut the market against slave labor products. Shall we substitute for this course of reasoning, that given us by "a Kentuckian," who has it for one of his fundamental principles, that of slave labor and free labor, the former is the cheaper, a position I will hereafter show to be untrue? Hear his ideas on this matter. Having spoken of the relation of India with England, the poverty of the former, and the state of her commerce, and her attempts to pronounce slave trade piracy, with the concurrence of the United States, and France, he says, "here is a precious mixture! If France and the United States will not declare the the slave trade to be piracy, then the American planter cannot be undersold, unless the duty on East India sugar be repealed; and the duty on this East India sugar cannot be repealed, because then the East India spirits will supersede British-made spirits, and malt spirits, and although America has not imported a single African slave for more than thirty years, and al-

though she has declared the slave trade to be piracy, and has kept her armed ships on the African coast for its suppression, (as she will not permit American vessels to be boarded and captured by British cruisers, and confiscated by a British court,) if we are to believe the London Times, Great Britain is about to declare war against her, under pretence of love for the poor Africans. How much truth there is in this pretence, will presently be seen, when we come to speak of her love and sympathy for the poor Irishmen." All this "precious mixture," written with an admirable spirit of scorn, and drawn before us with keenest irony, seems to me not far from being worthy of being considered a true and candid exposition of facts, as far as regards England. As I have said, and here repeat, England desires to crush the slave trade. She unites, or attempts to, with five allied Powers in the glorious work. She pronounces it piracy. She threatens to shut her ports and market against the products of slave labor, by underselling these products with her own from India. If, by these means, she can subserve the cause of humanity, and bring to a crisis the enormities of slavery, God bless her for it! The sins already on her head of oppression and misery, she has brought upon her poor, will grow lighter in the scale, when weighed down by the result of such a glorious effort. The blessings and prayers of millions will be borne to heaven for her, and over her enormities, for this one act of philanthropy, will the recording angel drop a blotting tear.

To her, Channing has written this glorious tribute.

“‘Slaves cannot breathe in England.’ I learned this line when I was a boy, and in imagination I took flight to the soil, which could never be tainted by slaves. Through the spirit, which spoke in that line, England has decreed that slaves cannot breathe in her islands. Ought we not to rejoice in this new conquest of humanity? Ought not the tidings of it to have been received with beaming eyes and beating hearts? Instead of this, we demand that Humanity shall retrace her steps and Liberty resign her trophies. We call on a great nation to abandon its solemnly pronounced conviction of duty, its solemnly pledged respect for human rights, and to do what it believes to be unjust, inhuman, and base. Is there nothing of insult in such a demand? This case (Creole case) is no common one. It is no question of policy, not an ordinary diplomatic concern. A whole people, from no thought of policy, but, planting itself on the ground of justice and Christianity, sweeps slavery from its soil, and declares that no slave shall tread there. This profound religious conviction, in which all Christian nations are joining her, we come in conflict with openly and without shame. Is this an enviable position for a country, which would respect itself or be respected by the world? It is idle, and worse than idle, to say, as is sometimes said, that England has no motive but policy in her movements about slavery. He, who says so, talks ignorantly or recklessly. I have studied abolitionism in England enough to assure those who have neglected it, that it was the act not of the politician, but the people. In this respect it stands alone in

history. It was a disinterested movement of a Christian nation in behalf of oppressed strangers, beginning with Christians, carried through by Christians. The government resisted it for years. The government was compelled to yield to the voice of the people. No act of the English nation was ever so national, so truly the people's act, as this. And can we hope to conquer the conscience, as well as the solemnly adopted policy of this great nation? Were England to concede this point, she would prove herself false to known, acknowledged truth and duty. Her freshest, proudest laurel would wither. The toils and prayers of her Wilberforces, Clarksons, and a host of holy men, which now invoke blessings on her, would be turned to reproach and shame, and call down the vengeance of Heaven."

Thus speaks this great and good man of the policy of England, and the spirit of the English people. From the clear mountain air, which is breathed so pure and fresh, while communing with him, strengthening, reviving, giving us faith in man, trust in God and ourselves, let us turn to the close, narrow, suspicious spirit of the opposite view, — stifling and murky with the dust of the world, like the bewildering street of a crowded city. "A Kentuckian" says, — "Here is a solution of the whole matter; British capital was flowing into the United States, not in the shape of gold and silver, for the large loans contracted in England were taken in the manufactures of England, which were again exchanged for labor on the several works of internal improvement; the effect upon the prosper-

ity of England was felt in every department of her industry. There were then no starving poor; the manufacturers were compelled to appoint agents, and offer high wages to obtain laborers; but apprehensions were excited; America was too prosperous; her wealth and population were increasing too rapidly; it was foreseen that she would overshadow England. Her boundless territory and fertile soil were contrasted with the narrow limits of Great Britain; a blow was aimed at her through her credit, and systematic efforts made to supersede her great staple, by substituting for it in the English market the cotton of India; and all this was done under a pretence of a horror for slave-trade, and compassion for the poor negroes. We cannot believe that this was the motive; and we refer to the condition of the poor Irishmen to prove that it was not."

Thus is England forced to bear the charge of hypocrisy, because forsooth slavery is an institution of the United States, against which she, and all humanity feel called upon to contend. We are told, if she could, "consistently with the rights of her East India subjects, and with what is due to other independent powers, extend her commerce beyond the utmost limits of her wishes, no one would have cause to complain. If she could do this by reducing the cost of productions in India, or in England, it would be right; but when, instead of reducing the cost of productions in her own dominions, she attempts to accomplish it by increasing it in Cuba, Brazil, and the United States, and adds insult to injury by calumniating the institutions, and at-

tempting to trample on the rights of America, her calumnies will be refuted, her purposes exposed, and her aggressions resisted by force."

To do all this, a wonderful combination of circumstances exists ; namely, all communication between Europe and America is carried on through the British press, on account of the same language being used in England and the United States, and everything is thus tinctured to suit the state of affairs existing ; — let the English be divided among themselves, as much as may be, they unite to uphold their country against the world ; — the public opinion of the English goes abroad through their periodicals, and guides their government, and points out their way to the world ; — in a word England stands like a beacon, to point to Europe the ways of the Americans, — to America the ways of the Europeans. And thus her people, her language, her intercourse with nations, her policy, all combine to help along the intricate plot she is laying to crush the United States, and aggrandize herself, and her colonies ; — and everything under the pretence of a desire to abolish slavery. Here is her Trojan horse, under cover of whose capacious sides an armed force is to be pushed, into the very heart of our country, to work out our rapid destruction. Will we listen to this sagacious warning, — this word of a prophet, who like

"Laocoön ardens summâ decurrit ab arce ?"

Let no Thymoetes induce us to drag it within our walls.

And so the Boundary question, the case of the Caroline, the capture of American vessels on the coast of

Africa, the right of search, the case of the Creole, all by a strange combination, have united to crush our devoted heads, — being but “the apparent questions at issue,” the outer coating of the horse, beneath which lie the armed men, the true and real question. This we are to have pointed out to us in the course of the following heads.

“1. Of the United States, their form of government, and the relation to slavery and the slave-trade.

“2. Of the slave-trade, and the exaggerations in relation to it.

“3. Of the commercial necessities which control the policy of England, and her revival of the slave-trade.

“4. Of India, and her relations as a colony of England.

“5. Of the condition of the laboring poor of Ireland.”

Of some of these I shall not speak, my object being chiefly to point out the misstatements and fallacies of the document before me with regard to the slave-trade, and what relates to it ; — having already shown, what I believe to be the policy of Great Britain in this matter. Many of the remarks upon India, and the state of the Irish, have no bearing upon the subject, — being merely useful as a means of exciting an idea of the comforts of the wretched in our land, — by placing before us those still more miserable in foreign countries.

“Of the United States, their form of government and their relation to Slavery and the Slave-Trade.”

While the United States were still colonies of Great

Britain, and when the feebleness of infancy forbade even the thought of manly independence, the introduction of the slave-trade commenced. I have already spoken of the "odious distinction" attached to Sir John Hawkins and his vessel of having first attracted the notice of England to the trade, and referred to it as an opening of a traffic, which had heretofore been confined to the kidnappers of natives on our shores, a delicate attention to the aborigines which began with Columbus himself. The ship of Thomas Keyser and James Smith, who were members of the Massachusetts Colony, never accomplished its object, which was to bring a cargo of Africans to America, on account of the indignation of the people who reprimanded the iniquity, and forced the proprietors of the abominable plan to restore the injured people to their native shores. The efforts of Gorton and Roger Williams, in 1652, did much towards ameliorating the condition of the slaves at that time in their colonies, and left the spirit of their teachings so firmly planted among the people, that to this very day we see its fruits in the glorious stand they have taken against this inhuman oppression. But in Virginia the feeling was totally different. The trade began before the fortunate discovery was made, that a whole race of men existed, whose mental and physical organization peculiarly adapted them to servitude, before a black skin became equivalent to the collar of the slave. "White servants came to be an usual article of traffic." And the Scots of Dunbar, the Irish Catholics, followers of Penruddoc, became saleable property, as a reward for their belief and endeavors. In 1620,

before the Plymouth Colony arrived, a Dutch man of war came into James River, with 20 negroes for sale. The Dutch, for many years, held the trade, supplying the planters, whom cupidity blinded to the evils of slavery, with laborers of this sort. From this day the traffic became general, and grew up, and became incorporated with our southern colonies, strengthening with their strength, as much a part of their institutions, as their laws and their chartered immunities. That they were involuntarily forced into this by England, and that one great *universal* ground of complaint (some of the colonies did complain) against the mother country was, that she "compelled them to receive African slaves," are historical facts brought before us by this document, now for the first time. Our country entered upon the Revolution, without distinction of state or colony. The struggle was a universal one, for freedom from oppression; — or rather the time of minority was over, and the youth was free in the order of nature. Of course, an institution like slavery became an important question with the rising government. A degree of latitude seemed to divide the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding states, and soil and climate became, as it were, the index of universal freedom, or partial bondage. Here was a delicate point, and the necessity of some degree of compromise appeared evident to every one. In achieving their liberty, the colonies were not purged in consequence of all foul distempers, which had gathered during their colonial conditions; — they had been slaveholding colonies, and were now slaveholding independent states.

We are told here, that "the black man was not equal to the white, and legislation could not make him so"; — that "to emancipate the slave, without giving him equal political rights, would have created a degraded *caste*"; — that "to have given them equal political rights, constituting them a part of the government, would have inoculated the government with a mortal disease, which would have caused its premature decay"; that "they had no alternative, but to recognise and continue the preëxisting system of slavery." And then comes the announcement of how much they did to "*meliorate the condition of the slave*," how strictly his interest and that of his master were identified, and a delightful comparison drawn between the state of the slave and his "three suits of clothes a year," with comfortable food and lodging, and the poor of Ireland starving and freezing, in filthy mud hovels, with mere rags to protect them from the cold, damp, piercing winds of their island. As if you might feed a man into abject servitude! As if a warm shed, and clean blanket could heal the wounds of a crushed soul! As if the spirit of man knew nothing beyond the morsel of bread between his teeth, and was to be held halter-broken to a crib, for mere animal warmth, and beastly fatness! Is this what nature, and the efforts of man from the creation of the world until now, teach us? Have privations, and sufferings, and keen agony been endured for mere bodily comfort? Do the deck of the Mayflower, the icy rocks of Plymouth, the frozen graves of that little band of martyrs for the soul's freedom, teach us this? Men have not lived lives of

distress, and died deaths of torture, that their race might live, and die like animals, fattened at the stall. Freedom, in the squalid hut of the Esquimaux, stands mountain high, with sun-illumined top, and bracing air, when placed beside this bondage of even the sleekest jewelled slave, that ever lazily fanned an Eastern despot. “*The American slave nursed in sickness, and comfortably provided for in old age*”! God knows he has a sickness, which knows no comfort, an old age for whose trembling, tottering limbs, and earnest longings for death, earth has no provision; the infirmities and sicknesses of his soul! What medicines avail, unless freedom be made their vehicle of administering?

Notwithstanding the dilemma into which the states were thrown, by being thus burthened with a population, which held neither the ground of human beings, nor that of animals, a provision was evidently intended to be made for them, by Art. I. sec. 9, p. 1, of the Constitution, which says:—The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.” This moderate and safe provision was all the times would bear; and a postponement for twenty years of all agitation of the subject seemed called for, by the loose, unsettled state of the country, whose growth and union needed every encouragement, and a careful abstinence from all unnecessary shocks. To

the men of those times all credit is due for having done what lay in their power towards benefitting the condition of the slave. "It is to the honor of America, that she should have set the first example of interdicting and abolishing the slave-trade, in modern times. She stood forth alone, uncheered and unaided, in stamping ignominy upon this traffic, on the very face of her constitution of government, although there were strong temptations of interest to draw her aside from the performance of this great moral duty." Twenty years of rest were allowed, in which the public might prepare itself for further agitation of the question; — for agitated it must and would be, where a whole nation stood forth avowedly, to defend the rights of man. And agitated it was, with what savor to the South is known to every body. An interference on the part of the general government has been pronounced unconstitutional, men who have mooted the question, traitors, and even martyrs have sanctified the cause of anti-slavery with their blood. We find "a Kentuckian" contending that the "American government, so far from having any authority to abolish slavery, are bound by the federal compact to resist any attempt on the part of any foreign power, to interfere with the rights of the master as established." We are brought by him to this conclusion in the following manner.

The colonies, which in 1776 declared themselves independent, became "separate sovereign states," each independent of any other, and recognising its own institutions. For the sake of more firm union, they chose delegates, who met and adopted the present

constitution, binding upon any nine states, who chose to enter into a compact.

He says, "It will thus be seen, that the federal constitution is a compact between sovereign and independent states. These states carried into convention, great diversity of opinion. Some of the delegates were in favor of a monarchy, some preferred a president and senate for life; many desired to create a strong central government; but the conflict between the colonies and the mother country had begotten a repugnance to monarchy; and an apprehension that a strong central government would end in the despotism of an absolute monarchy, in which the interests of the weaker sections would be sacrificed by the combinations of the stronger, induced the weaker states to insist upon reserving an equal voice in the senate, and to resist every attempt to give the federal government any further domestic control, than was indispensable to union among themselves, and to the successful administration of their foreign relations. The federal constitution, therefore, while it constitutes them one distinct nation, as to all the rest of the world, is but a compact between sovereign states, regulating their intercourse with each other, which compact was not intended to interfere with the constitution, or form of government preëxisting in the several states, who in adopting it considered and treated each other as separate governments."

In some portions of the country slavery existed, and it was thought that the relation, which the "British government had forced upon them, could not be changed," consistently with their own safety, or the happiness

of the blacks themselves. In forming the compact, the question of slavery had no weight or influence. The non-slaveholding states "had no right to demand that the slaveholding states should abolish slavery, and make that a condition of their becoming parties of the federal government." The question was not slavery, but whether "they should become parties to the federal constitution." "In doing so, the several states became members of the federal government, reserving to themselves the exclusive control over their domestic institutions, and hence, as domestic slavery was a domestic institution, and under the exclusive jurisdiction of the respective states, the federal government being charged with the foreign relations of all these states, is alike bound to protect the interest and property of all, — and hence so long as any state shall recognise the property of the master in his slave, the federal government is as much bound to protect that right of property, as it is to protect the right of property of the merchant in his ship." Here comes in the case of the Creole, the restitution of which, and compensation for the loss of which, is defended on the ground here taken. With regard to this individual case the admirably clear and forcible arguments of Dr. Channing, in his "Duty of the Free States," are sufficient to convince any one, who is not either wedded to the institutions of the South, or delicately careful of all state-interests, be they state-rights or not.

Passing by, therefore, this individual question, let us come to the general one of the right of interference with slavery, on the part of the general government.

We have seen in the paper before us, that it is to be held sacred, unmolested as the right of citizenship. The states in which it is tolerated came into the Union, supporting it as one of their rights, and in this same light they are to continue their existence in it. The non-slaveholding States have no voice in the matter. Can anything be more palpably wrong than such reasoning as this? Looking back to the article of the Constitution already quoted, we find there a direct interference with a traffic, which belonged to separate independent States in the days of its adoption. By forbidding all prohibition prior to 1808, we are led to infer that after this date some attention might be paid to the suppression of this traffic. It is true, as the writer before us says, "it did not escape the attention of those who passed upon the Federal Constitution, that the sentiment of the age was setting against slavery." They did indeed see, that "poets and philanthropists would decry it," and undoubtedly, in their own patriotic hearts, they looked forward to the time, when the voices of these "poets and philanthropists" might be heard. Undoubtedly their design was to leave it open to action at some future day, when the age of the republic had rendered action safe, and the indignation of men pronounced it absolutely necessary. That time has come. In designating a special tax on the importation of slaves, they went as far as they could, but left a principle behind them, which, carried out, would do much toward ridding us and the world of the curse of slavery. A power was reserved of taking a part and interest in a great national calamity. "All powers

not delegated by the Constitution to the United States, nor inhibited by it to the States, were reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Power was given to act upon the slave-trade. Acting to a certain extent implied the right to go further. And, were it a matter interesting individual States alone, (which it is not), such is its nature, that, as part of the great family of man, a Christian government is called on to raise its voice against it. That an act might pass Congress that, at any specified time, all people within the limits of the United States should be free, and receive the sanction of the Federal Court, is a fact which every citizen should understand. Congress, as a body of delegates from all the States in the Union, should feel this right. The question becomes, as it were, international between the States; and as the piracy of a State would be punishable by the general government under which the State was bound, and to which it looked for protection, so should slavery, as worse than piracy, be a matter of Federal interest.

Let us carry out this principle of the right of each independent State, and suppose Massachusetts were to repeal its laws with regard to slavery, and commence even at this late hour the establishment of a new institution within its territory. Would the vote of the legislature of Massachusetts render any freeman a slave? Would a cargo of Africans, brought into one of her ports, become, as soon as they set foot on her soil, property and mere chattels? Would the act of one little corner of the earth make the very air a breath of bondage? Wherein would differ the seizure of an English

citizen, and of a Mendi citizen? And even suppose a drove of Virginian slaves were purchased to supply her wants, would the fact of their birth subject them to be slaves wherever they might be, merely on a vote of the government of the land of their adoption? Would here be no question for the Federal Government? Would not here be a question, which would go to the people? For there are those questions according to the words of the document before us, which are "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," which are "not delegated by the Constitution to the United States." And the people would bare their shoulders in an instant, to carry it before the Federal Government.

And here I come to another point, which is, that the question of slavery does not interest one State alone, but the Union, the people of the United States, the inhabitants of the world; and can no more be confined in its influences to a few States south of a certain degree of latitude, than the waters of the Atlantic can confine their blessings to the shores of the little Island of Great Britain, or serve only to waft fishing vessels for the inhabitants of Cape Cod. We would be made to believe that the slaveholding States are alone concerned in this affair. But when we look at the movements of our national government, the votes of Congress, the style of debate there adopted, the tone of sectional feeling, the jealous, watchful pertinacity with which every point, that ever threatens to press hard upon slavery, is attacked, we cannot even deceive ourselves so much as to think we have no concern with slavery, even in a selfish point of view. The bold, reckless bearing of the

South towards their brethren of the North has rarely met with that dignified and determined opposition, which was so much needed; and the control, in all important questions, of the southern interests has been always shamefully evident. The votes of the southern planters, who number with their own those of three fifths of their slaves, certainly have their bearing upon the acts of our Federal Government. Shall we be told, we have nothing to do with those people, whose votes are as influential as our own; and who exert their influence upon the same legislative bodies? Have we no interest in an institution, which we are told has a salutary influence, in the order of Providence, towards checking the majority-influence of our land?

And this idea deserves particular notice. We are told that "De Tocqueville, in his able work on America, apprehends that the influence of an absolute majority may prejudice American institutions." The checks of the different parts of our Federal Government, the legislative, executive, and judicial, each upon the other, and that of the House and Senate reciprocally, are given as evidence that ours is a government of concurring majorities, rather than of an absolute majority. So far so good. But when in the same breath we are told, that "a popular ascendancy, even under these checks, is still further restricted by the slaveholding States, where slaves are excluded from the polls, which is equivalent to a limitation upon the right of suffrage," the spirit of our Constitution writhes before us in agony at such an unholy trampling. As far as in them lies the slaves are part of the majority or minority, as their masters may

happen to be themselves. Three fifths of them are citizens, inasmuch as voting constitutes a citizen, and the remaining two fifths have no more influence, count no more among the actual inhabitants of the country, than so many animals, or trees, or acres of land. The fact of their existing here under the same sky with us gives them no more part and lot in our government, than they would have, roaming the sands of Africa. Why not tell us, a great mass of our population consists of women and children, and these hold a check upon the majority? The idiots and paupers in our land have just as much to do with majorities and minorities, as these unfortunate beings, whose negative existence renders them mere convenient tools for any argument however fallacious, objects of any policy however iniquitous.

And then suppose there were a shadow of truth in the assertion, that they hold such a check, that the vitality of our government is nourished and preserved by the system of slavery, had it not better fall, than stand supported by such a foul, unholy pillar? I know not what must be the spirit of that man, who would suppose for a moment the work of the mighty fathers of our land, men who attested with their lives, and established by their deaths the principle, that "all men are born free and equal," could be built upon such a foundation. The ignominy of slavery rests weightily enough upon us now, without incorporating it with our institutions, and rendering it the balance-wheel of all our federal machinery. An indignant sun would refuse to shine upon such a land. In all the annals of time, we

find no such preposterous institution as that, whose existence in perfection depended upon the bondage of a portion of the human race. It cannot be, that we are necessarily, as well as by the most unfortunate accident that ever happened in the course of man's short-sighted plans, cursed with the evils of slavery. If sincere and holy men framed our Constitution, God grant the sins of slaveholders, and the bloody anguish of a whole degraded race may not be required to support their honest work.

No man can listen to such unfounded assertions, and the odium of believing them must rest upon him who utters them; the silent man by his silence demands that we say to him, "Thou art clean." And he who will thus speak out must receive the charitable sentence, "Thou art mad."

With regard to the writer's reference to the doctrine of De Tocqueville, that "an absolute majority may prejudice American institutions," I will say a word. The doctrine appears to be, as far as it can be drawn from two of the most unintelligible chapters ever written, and which occupy considerable space in "Democracy of America," that the monarchy of a majority is just as bad as the monarchy of an absolute sovereign. There is nothing to choose between the despotism of "King George and King People." The minority is silenced into a quiet submission by the sceptre of the ballot-box, and must be "yoked to the triumphant car of the majority," whether they will or not. The tide cannot be resisted. It is well known how highly he was applauded, for the advancement of this opinion, by all

Englishmen of the Conservative class, how the London Quarterly culled these chapters as the cream of the whole work, how Sir Robert Peel, in his inaugural speech at Glasgow, eulogized them, and how every Englishman exclaimed against such oppression, and pronounced his own liberty infinitely more perfect. Is the following sentiment true? "In our day, the most absolute sovereigns in Europe cannot prevent certain opinions, hostile to their power, from circulating secretly among their subjects, and even at their courts. While the majority is doubtful, the discussion proceeds; but no sooner is the decision pronounced, than all is silent. Enemies and friends yoke themselves alike to the triumphant car of the majority." Do our newspapers, do our caucuses, do our public debates, do our private communings, do our orators, do the walls of every workshop, inn, church, dwelling in the country, do our elections, and the mighty changes which have been wrought in our political affairs within the last eighteen months, bear witness to the truth of this assumption? I doubt if De Tocqueville or "a Kentuckian" ever saw an American, who felt himself silenced by the proceedings of a majority. "Debating the point" is his inalienable right. The work of an American minority is to become a majority by all means in its power;—would that it were confined to all fair and honorable means. What the checks, therefore, found in our form of government have to do with the phantasms of De Tocqueville, I cannot see; and I doubt if he would see these visions himself, did he know what a barbarous remedy our friend, "a Kentuckian," had offered him for them.

Before leaving this part of the document, I wish to quote one paragraph, which is brought in to sum up the whole matter, and at which every man, be he English or American, should blush.

“Thus, in the working of this complex system, the institution of slavery counteracts the influence of universal suffrage, and prevents the ascendancy of that absolute majority, of the evils of which Mr. De Tocqueville was apprehensive; and, therefore, the American statesman places a much higher estimate upon it, than the mere right of property; — and the intelligent European will see, that it constitutes a distinct element in American society, acting upon the machinery of government, which is not applicable to the States of Europe. Hence any opinions in relation to democracy in the United States, predicated upon universal suffrage in a European State, would be entirely fallacious.”

I would have every American read and reread this paragraph, until he has seen the spirit of every line, and ask himself, if he can be proud of a country thus conditioned, of a citizen thus deluded. A “complex system,” indeed; — better denominate it an unholy system. Where is the “American statesman,” who places a much higher estimate upon slavery, “than the mere right of property”? Will any man, who has pledged himself to defend the Constitution, dare to stand up and avow this as one of his principles? Will any man in a free State desire to? Beside the falsity of such a position, which falsity I have already pointed out, the hard-hearted iniquity of it comes before every

one, who has a spark of humanity, as the most awful feature in the whole dark matter. The total blindness to the moral nature of man, to the nobility of the human soul, an embodiment of which is in every man even the most degraded, to the rights and responsibilities of every being, to the great distinction there is between a man and a brute, to the great sympathetic chain existing between man and man, the blindness to, and ignorance of all these great truths evinced in this single idea are humiliating. The want of love for the human race, without which a man is unfit to live and deserves not the name of man, here shown, is sickening to the soul.

When the "intelligent European" does "see that slavery constitutes a distinct element in American society, acting upon the machinery of government, which is not applicable to the States of Europe," he may well bless God that it is so; that he lives in a land owning no such element; that in the machinery of his government, no such foul wheel is to be found; that his country knows no such sin. And he may well blush for *free America*, whose freedom is such a shadow, for institutions thus unchristian, for an American citizen, who can thus boldly come forth and tell him, "here is the keystone of our great political arch, and I call upon you to respect it, as the supporter of the most glorious fabric in the civilized world." No such temple can stand. Converted literally into a "den of thieves," its mercenary indwellers shall flee forth before the first "whip of small cords," which the hand of some great reformer shall apply to them. The

“tables of the money-changers” shall be overthrown, some conquering Titus shall come with Roman legions, and the polluted temple, with its gilded domes and golden pillars, shall be destroyed, a derision, a byword among men.

We cannot allow the institutions of our country to be thus libelled, without speaking out a feeble word for their defence. When our citizens in foreign lands will publish such calumnies to the world, we, who are left behind, should with honest indignation repel the charge. A word like this, uttered by “a Kentuckian,” from Paris, should come across the water but to be denied and refuted; it should knock in vain for admission into any American heart; it should go through the land beggared, reviled, repulsed, without even a whisper of charity.

And what are we to understand by the statement, that “any opinions in relation to democracy in the United States, predicated upon universal suffrage in a European State, would be entirely fallacious?” Are we to believe that universal suffrage does not exist among us, in a degree of perfection as great as can ever be hoped for? With the exception of minors, women, paupers, and slaves, and those under guardianship, where is the citizen who has not his right at the polls? Hordes of foreigners, it is true, are not entitled to this right; but every man, who can call himself a citizen, can exercise the right; and what more can be desired or expected? We might include every living being, who could prove his blood to be human, and thus satisfy the most hypercritical upon the word uni-

versal. Every animal might be made to count, or perhaps in conformity with the concessions made the South, every man might include *three fifths* of his live stock under his own title. And why not? According to the institutions of the South, slaves are no better than animals; and yet in the exercise of that great right of the freeman, suffrage, each planter includes three fifths of these very beings, who constitute part of his live stock, part of his goods and chattels. Under these circumstances, have the North no voice in this matter of slavery? Have they no right to contend, that every voter is a citizen, and as such, claims the rights of an American citizen? Is not the meeting of hands in the ballot-box a mutual pledge of citizenship, and a call upon each other to defend the rights of citizenship? If, between the toes of my dog I found a legal vote, and in the statute books found also his right to deposit it, I should be called on to respect him as a fellow citizen; how much more then him, who differs from me merely in complexion.

These are the inconsistencies of the South. Humanity aside, the whole Union has an interest in, a right to have a voice in any institution, any set of men, who have an influence upon the ballot-box. To this peculiar institution of slavery we are called on to make all concessions, grant all protection, carefully abstain from all interference with its privileges, no matter how exceptionable they may be to the consistency of the Union, no matter how powerfully we feel [their influence upon our own selves. We are to see humanity outraged, our feelings of benevolence tortured, our

right of speech almost questioned, and sit in patient silence. Our legislators have been too listless upon this point. With a few honorable exceptions, they have suffered themselves to be muzzled by the South, they have allowed the question of slavery, infused into every act that has come before them, to have unobstructed sway. In the Tariff Bill, in the Bank Question, in the Appropriation Bill, in our admission of new States, in many of our foreign relations, this hundred-headed hydra has managed to get some one of its many eyes into the windows of our hall of legislation, and breathe some of its accursed spirit into the whole atmosphere. And yet we have no interest, as a nation, in the question.

And what gives it this control, but the too great extent of "Universal Suffrage?" True, no State of Europe could have such a suffrage, God be praised for it. No State would desire to have included in this universal right a degraded class of beings, who from their unfortunate situation were made political tools, a bone of political contention. It is an anomaly in all legislation, in all voting, this relation of the slaves to the ballot-box. It presents benefits only to dreamy minds. Its "counteracting influence" works the wrong way. The control it has upon majority-influence is, as I have before shown, purely visionary. And a European has no reason to be guided, by the fact of its existence, into any opinion whatever of our democratic institutions. Universal suffrage in Europe and America, and all the world over, is one and the same thing. The exemption of two fifths of a man's

chattels does not destroy its universality. But we have in this, one distorted feature of our Constitution, at which the spirit of true democracy stands aghast, stricken into perfect silence with horror. With this plague-spot upon her, how can our country flourish?

“Our relations to slavery, and the slave-trade,” are thus unfortunate. They bear no palliation; their evils cannot be extenuated. These evils bear us down, with the terrible fury of an avalanche. No one point in them is bright, smooth them over as we will. It is painful to see any citizen disposed to gloss them; more than painful, to see any one pointing out their *absolute good*. I would question the sincerity of no man, no nation of men, who adopted a policy in opposition to them. I would never doubt the humanity of England, in her strivings against the slave-trade. She does not open her ports to mutineers and murderers, and offer them protection beneath her flag; but she says to the oppressed — “Go free,” — and gives assistance to those, who, in establishing their freedom, know no such names as mutiny and murder. Her purposes need not the suspicious eye of the slaveholder to unmask them; — in her opposition to the slave-trade and its horrors, the broad light of the noonday sun will reveal her designs and smile upon her efforts.

And I come now to

“The slave-trade and the exaggerations in relation to it.”

I doubt not, the iniquity of this traffic has led many zealous minds into a degree of exaggeration, with regard to its extent; though the most vivid imagination

of the most enthusiastic could not increase the horrors, which are attendant upon it. I am not disposed to believe with the Edinburgh Review, that the increase of slaves in Brazil is owing to importation alone ; neither do I see any reason for assuming in the case of this country, Cuba, or the United States of America, the position, that the importation has ceased. Why, amid the hardships of their existence in a state of bondage, in some of the Spanish slaveholding states, may we not believe the deaths to exceed the births, as well as the contrary? Slavery in Brazil may be very different from slavery in the United States of America, and, with regard to Cuba, I believe this is actually the case. Numerical calculations avail little in a question of this character, as may be seen by examining the document before us. Thus the Edinburgh Review says, "The slave population of Brazil in 1792 was 600,000, — and the annual decrease by excess of deaths over births is 5 per cent, which in ten years would have reduced the numbers to a little more than 360,000, — and in 1835 it is easy to show, that they would have been reduced to about 68,000. Now instead of that the census in 1835 gave 2,100,000 as the number of slaves." During twenty years, allowing for the losses of those imported, the calculation gives the number brought into the country as "2,600,000, or 130,000 annually." In Cuba also similar calculations are made, upon an excess of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of deaths over births. And yet the increase is such as to warrant the conclusion, that in Brazil and Cuba together 245,000 slaves are annually imported.

In opposition to this the paper before us says, "Now if it be not true that five per cent more die than are born, the assertion is not proved. All that we have to do is to reverse the statement, and assume that five per cent more are born than die, and we can prove that 1,000,000 have been exported from, instead of 2,600,000 imported into Brazil."

Strange as it may appear, the reversion of any assumption or calculation is apt to lead to a different conclusion; and the absurdity of the reversion being as great as the assumption itself, and its result as preposterous, I leave it to the reader to choose of the two.

The parallel drawn between Brazil and the United States amounts to nothing. We are told the "number of slaves, in 1790, in the United States was 697,897." "Not a single African slave has been imported into the United States for more than 30 years, and many of the natural increase have been emancipated; yet in 1840 there were 2,487,113. By the same parity of reasoning," used with regard to Brazil, "we could prove that more than 4,600,000 have been imported into the United States, within the last thirty years, when we know not a single African slave has been imported. Now as by the increase of slaves in Brazil, and the United States, we find that it has been about the same in both, and as we know, that there has not been a single slave imported into the United States, we must be excused, if we do not believe the statement in relation to Brazil."

Comparing too the price of a slave at Havana

given by Sir Thomas Buxton, which is about \$420, with the assertion that 113,000 slaves are imported annually into Cuba, and we see that the expense of this importation would be 48,300,000 dollars, a sum which the writer in the Post, and every body else, may well wonder at ; for it places the expenditure for slaves at 27,300,000 more than all the export of the Island.

Now what have we proved to us by all this? Why, merely that people will make extravagant calculations, when heated by zeal. The fact, that Brazil has kept somewhat in a line with the United States in the increase of her slaves, gives no strength to the argument, that no importation is carried on in the former, because none is in the latter. The condition of Brazilian slaves differs from that of those in the United States, and we may safely assume their mortality to be greater, and their importation greater, to supply the deficiency. If the slaves in Brazil increase as fast as those in the United States, and the excess of deaths over births is at the same time 5 per cent, we must believe in a vast importation. The whole affair is involved in suppositions. The expense of slaves in Cuba militates with the calculated importation, but confirms the fact of importation itself, and this is sufficient. In Brazil and Cuba the trade is not restricted ; in the United States it is ; and, although in the last a lawless trade does not exist to sustain a vile institution, in the first two the traffic is still excessive. Its exact extent of course cannot be determined. That it does exist, every merchantman trading thither can bear witness ; the

“long, low, rakish schooners” in those waters can attest ; and the voice of those indignant sufferers who freed themselves on board the *Amistad* can firmly prove. And this of itself is sufficient. A single slave-ship crossing the Atlantic is enough to call forth a fleet against her. There is more wrong, more sin, more sorrow and bitterness on board that single ship, than would serve to curse a nation. All the holiest ties of kindred, all the tenderest affections, all the divine rights of man, are there ruthlessly trampled on. And there are men there, whose national feebleness, whose unfortunately weak condition in moral and intellectual life, call with the agony of a dying man upon the nations of the earth to redress their injuries. Their own people are unable to assist them. In the hands of the whole world God has placed their cause ; it is a business concerning the whole race of civilized man, to see that the wrongs of that little band of sufferers are prevented and punished. We need no numbers to prove to us this. The fact is as true with regard to one, as one million. If the flag of America is made a protector for such a traffic, the United States themselves are called upon to unite in a league to suppress such a violation.

Every sober man may safely disbelieve the extravagant calculations of zealots, and the exaggerations which the most simple-minded may see ; but the soul of that man will find in the slave-trade a sickening sore. No statements are necessary to rouse the “benevolent people of England and of the world” to a discussion of these awful principles. “To engraft a

new principle upon the law of nations, to enable Great Britain to suppress the slave-trade," is an effort called forth by no deceitful tales, no art, no exaggeration of the truth; but the bare fact of an iniquitous traffic existing calls at the same time for its remedy. Indignation and sorrow over the whole earth are roused by the cries of a whole agonized class of men. This is no attack upon windmills; the Crusade commenced is no Quixotic burlesque. The evil may be magnified. Enthusiasm always enlarges the objects under its eye. This is one great means of its subsistence. But it is in a righteous cause the spirit of God, breathing life into the soul of man. It is the burning bush. We may not curse it for its extravagances, but bless it for its endeavors. In the question of the slave-trade, it despises numbers; it attacks principles; and it will succeed.

"Of the commercial necessities which control the policy of England, and her revival of the slave-trade," I shall have but few words to say. The necessities referred to are clearly pointed out by the correspondent of the Post, and their bearing upon English policy. The deplorable state of the laboring population in England, arising out of their corn laws, their protection of colonial produce, and consequent restrictions upon free trade, are well known to the world. The earnest meetings of hosts of chartists, crying not for liberty but for bread, and their appeals against the trampling, crushing tyranny under which they are writhing, make one's blood boil. It is not in the power of man to put down these heartfelt appeals.

The winds of heaven bear the sound from the smoky walls of Manchester to the farthest freeman on the earth. There must be a remedy for these evils, or England will be blotted from among the list of nations. Her redemption lies in her efforts against slavery.

I will not enter into a detail of the difficulties, under which England is now laboring internally ; but I do not see what relief she is to find from them, by harassing the commerce of the United States. A certain class of politicians would have us believe, she saw her remedy in this, and masked her intentions under a pretended desire to discontinue the slave-trade. The most delicately suspicious eye must be needed to see this. The evil is internal ; the remedy affects herself alone. The changes must apply to the protection duties laid on her colonial produce, to the taxation necessary to keep in motion the expensive machinery of her government, to the extravagant restrictions upon such foreign produce, as comes within the list of the absolute necessities of life. Her wildly grasping ambition must be checked. There is nothing to choose between the motives of her army cut off in Afghanistan, and that of Nicholas routed by the Circassians with such retributive justice. The intention of such outfits as these indicates a tone of design, which must be changed. A selfish ambition is the sin of England ; but it is a sin which will never be nurtured by any attempts to abolish the slave-trade. In this thing she has been instigated by men of the purest principles, whose noble hearts beat as quick at any exhibitions of misery in their own land, as in the remotest corners of

the earth. They looked not over the hills around them to the mountains beyond, but included all in the glance of their quick eye.

In competing with slaveholding countries in her commerce, she may be allowed to pass what restrictions and repeals she chooses upon the existing laws of trade. By repealing the duty on East India sugar, she is taking one step against the produce of slave labor; and were she to do this, wherein consists the enormity of the act? Deeply involved as she is in an intricate maze of troubles, starvation at home, disputes and colonial tempests abroad, whatever efforts she may make against slavery will stand as beacon lights to cheer her way over the stormy waters. We may be told with a conscious nod of wisdom, that simultaneously arose her fear of being second to the United States in the scale of nations, and her opposition to slavery. By opposing the latter, as an American institution, in which the vitality of American commerce and her absolute existence were involved, England hopes to aggrandize herself and crush her aspiring rival. For this she enters into an involved train of proceedings, by means of which her wretched poor at home are reduced to a state infinitely worse than the lowest slave under the lash of a Brazilian master. Much is said to us about free labor, and the iniquitous manner in which England has reduced it below the price of slave labor; much about the "dead weight" of slavery, the maintenance of the old, the infirm, the sick, &c., and an ingenious comparison, brought in between the perishing aged and sick poor of England, and the

comfortable grey-haired slave, basking in the sun, under the eaves of his master's cottage, making the former one of the blessings of England's free labor; much about declaring slave-trade to be piracy, and subjecting the culprit to be tried in *this*, (Great Britain,) and not in his own country; as if it were not worse than piracy; much about the power of search between Africa and Cuba, giving England a control of all the carrying trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and much that is awful, very awful, about all England's distresses, and her anxious lookings here and there to rid herself of them. And are we not indignant at all these wrongs? How beautiful stands in comparison our own institution of slavery, firm, strong, a corner stone well polished, the delight of the builders. No — no; — it sounds out absurdity — absurdity, in the whole air, when so strange a medley is told us. England appears no Mephistopheles yet.

More than all, we are told she has revived the slave-trade.

Where and how has she done this? It is said, by the following act; — “No emigrant arriving from India at Mauritius shall, in Mauritius, be capable of entering into any contract for service, except for the period, in the manner, and under the superintendence, which by a law in force there is required, in case of contracts for service, by other laborers in agriculture or manufactures, within the said island.” If emigrants choose therefore to exchange their home in India for one in Mauritius, they are subject to this regulation. Analogical with it is the power resting in the landholder over

free blacks, who reside on his plantation, to compel them to work, and to control their wages. In our small manufacturing villages, the tenant lives in somewhat the same light, with regard to the owner of his dwelling and his employer. If he chooses to occupy the tenement provided by his employer, he submits to the control of his wages assumed by the latter, and is compelled by him to work, as part of the agreement whereby he is allowed to occupy the dwelling provided for him. In any one of these three instances is there to be found a single feature of slavery? Does it show in any one point the cloven foot, so peculiarly slavery's own? A slave is such involuntarily. He has no voice in the matter; and his departure from his native land, to that which is to be his home in sorrow and misery, bears no more resemblance to the emigration of those people referred to, from India to Mauritius, than the passage of the free and happy British sailor does to that of his miserable companion, transported for life on account of his crimes. A regulation of any nature upon emigrants cannot make them slaves. Their own land is still before them with its laws, the land of their adoption with its, and they alone make the choice. We cannot bring the charge of slave-dealing against any nation, whose institutions are voluntarily adopted by any people. It is a foul, iniquitous aspersion, when such a charge is brought, clothed as we find it in the paper before us with plausible statements, worked into a long list of real indignities, it at first view takes on the character of its companions. But its position is false; it has been pushed into wrong

company. Its spirit is misrepresented ; its innocent nature vilified. The diseased vision of a slaveholder alone would find in it so foul a spot as is here put upon it.

With regard to the two remaining questions “of India and her relations as a colony of England,” and “of the condition of the laboring poor of Ireland,” I shall, considering their want of relation to the great point I am concerned with, Slavery, pass them by. They are ably and distinctly treated ; their enormities vividly displayed ; but when they are brought into a comparison with slavery, their whole object fails. They cannot place it in an enticing attitude ; they cannot throw over it a softening light. The comparison cannot be made. The physical condition of any race of men, however poor, is in no degree like moral, spiritual bondage. A want of proper sympathy, and regard for humanity, belongs to him who can place the former above the latter, in height of misery. Cold, hard, calculationg men, making all things property, the soul secondary to all, feel not the pangs of a stricken slave. Shylock says,

“ You have among you many a purchased slave,
Which, like your asses, and your dogs, and mules,
You use in abject and in slavish parts,
Because you bought them ; shall I say to you,
Let them be free, marry them to your heirs ?
Why sweat they under burthens ? Let their beds
Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates
Be seasoned with such viands ? You will answer
The slaves are ours. — ”

And Shylocks of this day respond to the bloodthirsty

“ Merchant of Venice,” with a spirit no whit better than his, — “ the slaves are ours.” No desire for abolishing the “ abominable thing ” is evinced by those, in whose hands it rests. Their great men defend it with suspicious interest ; their whole community rises against the man who would speak of its wickedness ; the blackness of the enormity is quietly submitted to by their neighbors, who are forced to sit under its shadow.

Men compromise in this matter ; and south of the 33° of latitude men are to be held in bondage. As if they had a right to sit in judgment on their brother’s freedom, because forsooth he knows no blood like their own. Can man and his conscience find a compromise in this matter ? Can man and his God ?

I hesitate not to say, men of the non-slaveholding States have been cowed and crushed, in their words against the existence of slavery in the Union. They have shrunk before a tide of passionate invective, which has been heaped upon them, with the timidity of scared children. Few have dared to stand forth boldly, and defend the rights of humanity against the arrogance of oppression and vilest wickedness. There has been one among us, who even shocked the sense of justice of a slaveholder himself, (John Randolph,) by impiously bringing his clerical knowledge of holy writ forward in defence of the enormous sin. Are fear, and subserviency, and a truckling disposition the cause of this ? Is moral courage to be completely crushed and destroyed by the bold, defying, inflammable spirit of iniquity ? Thank God we are not all cowards,

we have not all a low ambition, which would make men shades, pœnumbræ of their fellows. A grey-haired man stands there still, on the floor of that house, filled with the blood and spirit of his heroic fathers, on whose frosty head abuse and flaming insult have been poured harmlessly for years. Like a rock he stands, immovable. The echo of his voice has hardly passed away; the sound of these words is scarcely even now stilled. "We cannot touch that subject, without raising throughout the whole South a mass of violence and passion, with which one might as well reason as with a hurricane. That I know is the fact in the South, and that is the fact in this House. And it is the reason why members, coming from a free State, are silenced as soon as they rise on this floor; why they are pronounced out of order; made to sit down; and if they proceed are censured and expelled. But, in behalf of the South and of southern institutions, a man may get up in this House and expatiate for weeks together."

All this is too true. We are cursed with the foul weight about our necks, and are bound lest we should throw it off. The dead body of a fellow is fastened to us, and we are chained lest we should remove it. United as we are to the South with all its wickedness, have we no voice to be heard in the matter? We have seen what control it and its institutions have upon all our interests, and are they no concern of ours? These things must not be. Efforts now being made may not move them, but a true and a just God will. The people will listen to the voice of woe, if their ears

are only turned towards it, and the people, under God, will cause the wrongs to cease. So vile an institution cannot exist forever ; it must crumble, and the superstructure, be it ever so fair, will fall with it, a notable ruin.

Of itself, it is eating out the heart of the very community in which it exists. It is sapping every nice moral principle, destroying every true manly tone of feeling. Its abominable, degrading customs have placed woman on a level with the beasts that perish. The holy relations of wife and daughter stand not in the way of the most inhuman excesses. This is no fiction. The fair skin of many a slave will show you this. The resemblance between that lovely girl, and her servant but a few shades darker, will point out to you their common father. When woman is thrown out of her beauteous light, and deprived of the soft majesty with which she is invested, when that chastity which is her strong tower, and the indispensable means of her influence upon man, is looked upon lightly and sneeringly by him, sad, sad is the condition of the people, where such a state exists.

When tables are placed before us to show us how much more rapidly the slave population increases than the free blacks, and proof drawn from them, that the condition of the former is much better than the latter, my mind involuntarily turns to the sin to which I have just referred. The slaves are indeed well fed and clothed, — so are our animals. All pains are taken to have them firm, muscular, well proportioned creatures. Strong fathers and healthy mothers are considered essen-

tial. Their increase is promoted in the most unwarrantable, shameless manner, as if they were incapable of human affections, unworthy the respect due to human beings. The amount of sin on this point is incredible, horrid. And yet we are told that the excess of the increase of slaves over that of free blacks, and even whites, is proof "that the institution of slavery, as it exists in the United States, has been so modified, as to secure the personal comfort of the slave," and render his situation almost enviable. A modification indeed. The very heavens grow black above such villainy. Are men disposed to listen to such things? The perfect despiableness of official documents on such questions cannot be expressed. The comfort of the slave knows no place in the "sickly sentiment and impertinent theories of a misguided philanthropy," as the philosophic correspondent of the Post is pleased to call that spirit, which would have respect for all men. The most disgusting wickedness is involved in this question, wickedness, which needs a sense of decency alone, without a spark of philanthropy, to make it evident. This increase of slaves presents nothing peculiarly enticing to the advocates of the institution itself; the more of silence they preserve on this point, the better. What I have said are facts; they are not poetry. And they are among the foulest features of one of the foulest institutions on the face of the whole earth.

Thus do men blind themselves, when their apparent interests are before them. They overlook their moral obligations — they overlook their actual interests. Besides the comfort of the slave, we are told his labor is

cheaper than that of the freeman. This I deny. And it requires no ruinous policy [to reduce the price of free labor, none of that ruthless starving and freezing of the poorer classes, which is so often and so feelingly laid before us, — to render this free labor cheaper than the listless, inactive working of a gang of slaves. The sturdy, eager labor of the stout and happy freeman, who sees his family and himself living by the sweat of his brow, bringing in for the reward he receives as much in return, aye more, must not be degraded, by being compared with the miserable effects of slave labor. The “dead weight” too, which has been spoken of, the support of infants, aged, sick, the providing of houses, clothes, and implements, the interest of the slaves’ first cost, all go to swell the amount to an extent far greater than one would at first suppose. Say says, “Stewart, Turgot, Smith, all agree in thinking, that the labor of the slave is dearer and less productive than that of the freeman. Their arguments amount to this; a man, that neither works nor consumes on his own account, works as little, and consumes as much as he can; he has no interest in the exertion of that degree of care, and intelligence which alone can insure success; his life is shortened by excessive labor, and his master must replace it at great expense; besides, the free workman looks after his own support; but that of the slave must be attended to by the master; and, as it is impossible for the master to do it so economically as the free workman, the labor of the slave must cost him dearer.” Say attempts to refute this, by some calculations inapplicable

to our country, and indefinite with regard to any other. We need but compare slaveholding with non-slaveholding countries, and ask ourselves where we find the most public improvements, the most prosperous state of manufactures, agriculture, arts. Where do we find the most actual wealth? Will the South, with all her pride, claim precedence of the North in these things? The value of slave labor becomes, when we consider its result, its cost, its inconveniences, all its concomitants, perfectly chimerical. Slaves do not work for nothing. Their wants are to be supplied; their fallen spirits draw down their bodies with an overpowering weight.

A word in defence of a Crusade against this Institution, of whatever nature it may be, and however conducted, and I am done. In such a Crusade the world is called on to join. The South herself is urged to look upon the position she has taken among the nations, and to exert herself that it may become at once more honorable, and less at war with common decency and humanity. An universal spirit of kindness is alone needed, to throw down the iniquitous system at one blow. No intestine commotion is necessary, will all men but see the evil alike, and pray alike for its removal. A sense of love for man here comes in to its proper work. Freeing and elevating a whole race of men, ridding a whole section of our country of a foul curse,—these are the objects laid before the philanthropist, who opposes the continuance of slavery. Here, before our eyes, lies the dark spot, which is to be removed by strenuous, constant, direct effort;—

not by comparison with other existing evils, to its advantage ; not by charging selfishness and ambition upon its opponents ; not by varnishing it over with an unnatural gloss, to render its outside fair, while the inside is so full of all uncleanness ; not by raising questions of right and interest ; not by interweaving it with our institutions.

And with regard to the righteous attempts of other nations, let us hail them with joy. The evils that exist in their own bosoms coming first, this great sin demands their interposition. The condition of the poor of Ireland requires its remedy, but argues no reason for apathy on the part of England, in the removal of woe from others equally miserable and unfortunate. If in the bad state of her laws, her commerce, and in the crowded numbers of her population, with excessive inequality of wealth, rest the almost immovable distresses of the Irish and English laboring classes, let her see to it, that the shoulder be not spared in proper effort for the melioration of their condition. But let no glowing exhibition of these sufferings lead men to look at them alone. No exposition of them can have any bearing upon the subject of slavery. In this connexion it is time and paper thrown away to treat of them, and is an unjust appeal to men's sympathies in behalf of the oppressed in one quarter of the world, while at the same time an attempt is made to wipe off the miseries of the degraded and crushed in another.

With England, as engaged in the struggle against slavery, all true-hearted men have to do ; “ not,” as Burke says, “ with a sort of England detached from the

rest of the world, and amusing herself with the puppet-show of naval power, (it can be no better, whilst all the sources of that power, and of every sort of power, are precarious,) but that sort of England, who considered herself as embodied with Europe; but with that sort of England, who, sympathetic with the adversity or the happiness of mankind, felt that nothing in human affairs was foreign to her." In her treaties against slavery we wish her God-speed. Would that every nation, and kindred, and tongue under heaven would feel proud to unite with her. In such a righteous union, constitutional fallacies and quibbles become as the dust of the balance. Questions of ambitious policy belong only to narrow heads and selfish, hardened hearts. To treaties, and searchings, and all honest endeavors to rid the world of a terrible curse, and bless mankind, may God lend his aid.

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